643 484 Henin and the Nahd tribe. During his tour he arranged the following truces: At 'Einat, on 26th August, a two years' truce between the Seiyids of Āl Hussein and Āl al Hamed; at Al Qatn on 5th September a truce between all the Yafa'i tribesmen and their clans and sections to last five years; on 6th September at the same place, a 10 years' truce between the tribesmen of Āl Makhashin of the Nahd, and another of five years between the clan of Āl Mahfudh, and, again at Al Qatn, on 7th September, an eight months' truce between the Nahd tribesmen; on 9th September in Wadi al 'Ain a truce of five years between the tribesmen of Āl Batati, and another of five years between the Āl Batati and Āl Mahfudh.

643 His Highness left for India on 15th October 1934 for medical reasons. He did not return to Mukalla again, for he died in India of cancer, after a long and painful illness, in March 1936. Recognition has now been given to his nephew and successor, His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, who has been accorded a salute of 11 guns.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

173 829 I have already drawn attention to the importance of a knowledge of traditional history, and there is one aspect of history in particular of which any one dealing with Arabs must have some knowledge, and that is genealogy. Arabs would regard families going back to the Conquest as mushroom growths, and many can carry their own trees back to Adam. Each one will at least know the main lines of his descent, and though in its earlier stages it is legendary, this is of no importance to others than purists, for it is believed. Wherever known, the origin of each tribe is indicated in this report, and genealogical trees show the accepted descent of tribal ancestors from Shem.

829 173 162 565 Racially, the Arabs divide themselves into four categories, of which three are represented in the Hadhramaut, the Baida or extinct Arabs represented by the sons of 'Ad, the 'Ariba or descendants of Qahtan or Joktan embracing all the remaining Arabs except the Seiyids and a few sons of Ma'ad who, being descended from Ishmael, are Musta 'Aribs.

The population of the Hadhramaut may be divided into seven social classes, almost castes. They are not all represented in every part of the country, and the order in which they appear below is partly historical and partly represents the order of their importance.

Seiyids.

162 565 The Seiyids of the Hadhramaut derive their descent from Ahmed bin 'Isa al Mohajir who migrated to the Hadhramaut from Basra and died there about 1,050 years ago. His grave is on the right bank of the main Wadi Hadhramaut at Al Hasisa, a few miles

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

east of Seiyun. Many of the families of Seiyids have hereditary chiefs bearing the title of *Mansab*. They are recognized as spiritual leaders by the surrounding tribes and even by tribes far away; thus, the Mansabs of 'Einat, some twelve miles east of Tarim, have a paramount spiritual influence over the Yafa'i tribes far away in the western part of the Protectorate. 162 565

The following is a list of those families of Seiyids whose descent from Seiyid Ahmed is regarded as authentic :—

Family.	*House.*	*Mansab.*	*Residence.*	*Nos.*	*Influence Over.*
Āl Bā 'Alawi	Al Beiti		Gheil Bin Yamin.	400	Nūwah.
	Al Maknun		Yuwan	100	Bin Ajrar, a Balhaf tribe, Al bin Dagha.
	Barum	Muhammad Barum.	Du'an	30	
	Hāmed	'Abdur Rahman bin Hāmed.	Tarim	20	
	Mudeihij		Gheil Bin Yamin.	80	
	Fada'q	Muhammad bin Hussein Fada'ç.	Habban	100	Al Aqmush and Al Aswad, Balhaf tribes.
	Bā 'Ubūd		Taris	30	
	Bin Sahl		„	5	
	Jemal al Leil		„	15	
	Mola Dawila	Muhammad bin 'Ali.	Fughma	400	Beni Sa'id, Manahil.
	Al Hindwan		Rogha near Tarim.	40	Have influence over certain tribes.
	As Siri	Bubekr Siri	Tarim	20	
	Al Juneid	The house consists of learned men and men of wealth; no manasb.	„	50	
	Bā 'Umar		Loisar	50	
Āl 'Aidarus	Al 'Aidarus	Ahmed bin Hussein.	Tibi	5,000	Nahd. Kathiri.
	„	Al Hazm Ahmed bin 'Aidarus.	Būr and Hazm	5,000	Āl Jābir. Nahd.
	Al Isma'il	Muhammad bin Muhammad, 'Abdul Bari and Hussein 'Abdulla.	Tarba, Tarim, Shihr.		Al Qathm, Seiban, Al Hamumi.
	As Salibis		Salibis		Bin Hatab, Bin Kasbūba.
	Āl Salih	Hussein bin 'Aidarus.	Būr	80	Āl Bajri.
	Āl 'Abdulla bin ash Shaikh.	'Umar bin Zein	Tarim and Ramla.	120	Al Yamāni.

Family.	*House.*	*Mansab.*	*Residence.*	*Nos.*	*Influence Over.*
162 565 Āl Sheikh Bubekr bin Salim and Al Sheikh 'Aqil bin Salim.	Al Hāmed	'Abdul Qadir bin Salim.	'Einat	200	Mahra, Seihut, Qishn, Merbat.
	Al Hussein	'Ali bin Ahmed	'Einat	250	Manahil, Beni Ujeil Yafa'.
	Al Mihdhar	Mustafa bin Ahmed and Bubekr bin Hussein.	Du'an, al Qawira.	300	Al Bajuba, Al Bahada, a Balhaf tribe, Khalifa, a tribe belonging to the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, Yafa'is.
	Al Haddar	Muhsin bin Ahmed and Haddar bin Ahmed.	Qatn, Shihr	200	Qu'aitis.
	Bu Futeim	'Abdulla bin Ahmed.	Tarim and Tarba.	20	'Awāmir clan living in Tarba.
	Muqeibil		Du'an, Leisar	40	
	Al 'Attas	'Ali bin Zein and Hasan bin Salim.	Hureidha, 'Amd.	1,500	Nahd and As Sei'ar.
	Bin Hadun	Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas.	Meshhed	90	Nahd, As Sei'ar and Al Musa'id
	Al 'Aqil	Hasan bin 'Alawi.	Dammūn	100	Part of the Āl Tamim.
	Ba Surra		Du'an, Leisar	20	
	Āl Mutahar	Ahmed bin 'Aqil.	Dammūn	30	Part of the Āl Tamim.
Āl as Saqqaf	As Saqqaf	Ahmed bin 'Abdur Rahman.	Seiyun	500	Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris.
	Āl Taha		,,	40	
	Āl Shihab	'Abdur Rahman bin 'Abdulla and 'Abdul Qadir.	Tarim and Dammūn.	300	Āl Quseiyer and Bā Shamakha.
	,,	'Alawi bin 'Abdulla Āl Shihab.	,,		Bin Silma.
	Al [illegible]		Seiyun	400	
	Al Mashhur		Tarim	50	
	Al Hadi	[illegible] bin Zein.	,,	50	
	Az Zahir			50	
	Al Bar	Ahmed bin 'Umar al Bar.	Du'an	200	
	Al Wahsh		Du'an, al Qurein.	200	
	Āl Saīd		Du'an, ar Ruhāt	500	

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Family.	*House.*	*Manaab.*	*Residence.*	*Nos.*	*Influence Over.*
Al as Saqqaf —*contd.*	Bin Barahim.	The house consists of learned men and merchants. There is no manaab.	Qasm	50	
	Ba Harûn		Hadhramaut	60	
	Al Habashi	'Umar bin 'Abdulla, Muhammad bin 'Ali.	Hautat Ahmed bin Zein, Du'an, Seiyun.	300	Âl Kathîr.
	Bâ 'Aqîl		Qeidun	800	
	Ba Faqîh		Du'an and Shihr.	30	
Âl Haddad		'Isa bin 'Abdul Qadir.	Tarim	150	Ad Deiîn.
	Âl Tahir	Tahir bin Bubekr.	Al Maseila	30	Âl Balheij, Bâ Muhammad.
	Âl bin Yahya	Ahmed bin 'Umar.	„	20	
	Âl Sumeit		Shibam	25	
	Âl. 'Aidîd		Tarim	50	
Âl Ahmed bin al Faqih ash Shahid.	Balfaqih	Zein bin Hasan	Tarim	100	Al 'Imran, Nahd.
	Al Jifri	'Abdur Rahman bin 'Ali.	Wadi bin 'Ali	1,000	Wadi bin 'Ali.
	Al Kaf	Bubekr bin Sheikh (not a manaab, but has most influence).	Tarim	150	
	Al Bakr	Hasan bin Salih.	Di Sobh	20	Âl Kathîr.
	Ash Shatiri	'Abdulla bin 'Umar ash Shatiri.	Tarim	20	Seiban
				10,415	

The following families have now become extinct in the Hadhramaut: Bin Qabtan, Âl Mahjub, Âl Musuwa, Bâ Shumeila, Âl Tawîl, Âl Hâmel, Bâ Raqaba, Âl Mandhar, Bâ Hussein, Âl Qâdir, Âl Qadri, Bâ Faraj, Mola Kheila, Ash Shilli, Âl 'Abdul Malik, Âl Hashim, Âl al Manadhar, An Nadhir, Hussein al Qara, Merzaq, Bâ Bureik, Khuneiman, Bâ 'Ali, Âl Hût, Al Ghota.

Until the last few years the Seiyids occupied universally over the Hadhramaut very much the position of the church in the Middle Ages in Europe, forming a theocracy with which the temporal rulers of the country interfered very little. On the whole their influence was generally on the side of law and order and they wielded great power.

565 Seiyids do not carry arms,[1] nor have they troops to support
55 them, so that instead of relying on the sanction of arms to main-
461 tain their authority they rely on their descent from the Prophet and the reverence which is given to them on account of their ancestry. They are extremely jealous of their privileges as Seiyids; realizing that their influence depends on the respect shown to them, they adhere keenly to such customs as the kissing of their hands and avoid any form of manual labour. They are usually comparatively well educated, and exercise influence on this account.

000 Some years ago a movement started in the East Indies to restrict the power of the Seiyids. It is said to have had its origin in a squabble over a school, but its roots were deeply set in the growing contact of the Hadhrami immigrants with western influence which produced a liberal class keen on modernisation. The Seiyids were innately conservative and mistrusted the encroachment of western civilization. It cannot be said that the struggle between the church and the laity is yet over, but it is apparent that the victory will ultimately be with liberal tendencies rather than diehard conservatism. According to most accounts the 'Irshadis, as the rebels against ecclesiastical predominance termed themselves, never set up actual organizations in the Hadhramaut itself, but there is no doubt that their tenets have made considerable headway there.

565 In Qu'aiti territory the influence of the Seiyids has officially gone.
554 They are not allowed to interfere in politics though they are given respect for their descent. As long as the majority of them adhere to their mediaeval ecclesiasticism it is clearly right that they should be out of power. Unofficially, however, some of the best of them still play an important and indeed essential part in those districts not yet under direct Government control. In Kathīri territory they have more influence, but the leading families have moved with the advancing tide of progress, allied themselves with the forces of law and order, and are amongst the keenest advocates of modern methods in the country.

Sheikhs.

793 Before the advent of Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa in the ninth century
565 and the gradual growth of the religious influence of the Seiyids,
554 the Sheikhs were the principal ecclesiastical influence in the country.
162 They probably took the place of an earlier ecclesiastical hierarchy formed by the priesthood of the old religion. Though they definitely take precedence after the Seiyids, they resemble them in that they exercise much the same privileges. Like them, they are a very much respected class, are better educated than the tribesmen, and do not as a rule bear arms.

565 The principal families are: Al 'Amūdi living in Du'an, Āl Is-hāq,
162 Āl Bā Wazīr living at Ghail, Wadi al 'Ain, and other places, Bā

[1] There are in fact a few families of Seiyids who do carry arms and are indistinguishable from Bedouins.

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shabwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlania between Henin and Al Qatn. 565 162

Yafa'is.

The Yafa'is are the *'askir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introducton as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation. 565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances. [173]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosili, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharasa, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robk, Āl Yazid. Āl Batati). 565 162

Tribesmen.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces. 600

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūvah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Ze*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila* is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Subsection, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate. 619 565 162 621

The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas 181

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence [685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

In Tarim: Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1/XL [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

In Shibam: Āl Bā Dīb, head, Muhammad bin Ahmed Bā Dīb; important members, 30, total, 50. Āl Bā 'Ubeid, head, Muhammad Salim Bā 'Ubeid; important members, 15, total, 20. Āl Shamākh; important members, 10, total, 40. Āl Ma'āshir, head, Bekr 'Ali Ma'ashir; important members, 24, total, 100. Āl Bā Jarsh, head, 'Abdur Rahman Bā Jarsh; important members, 20, total, 60. Āl at Tōwei, head, 'Ali at Tōwei; important members, 4, total, 20. The families of Qatn, Jabr, Bilfaqih, and Āl Khātib are said to possess authority.

In Al Ghurfa: Āl Bā Abbad; important members, 15, total, 80. Āl Msellem, head, Salim Msellem; one important member, total, 20. Āl Tarmum, head, 'Abdulla bin 'Abdur Rahman Tarmum; important members, 20, total, 90. Āl Sheiban, head, Sheikh 'Umar Sheiban; important members, 5, total, 30.

In Du'an: Āl Bā Shanfar, residence 'Aura; important members, 5, total, 80. Āl Bā Ya'shut, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 90. Āl Bā Mad-han, residence Al Qurein; important members, 160, total, 200. Āl Bā Lakma, residence Ar Rubāt; important members, 30, total, 80. Āl Bā Barahīm, residence Al Qurein; important members, 60, total 110. Āl Bā Basut, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 100, total, 200. Āl Bā Hanshal, residence Al Khoreiba; important members, 30, total, 150. Āl Bā Khashwein, residence Hudūn; important members, 150, total, 300. The families of Bā Shameila, Bā Samad, Bā 'Ubeid, Bahawal, and Bā Baheir all possess authority, but those of Bazara, Bā 'Aahin, and Bā Sālih have none.

In Bur: Bā Sharāhil, who possess no authority.

The townsmen are divisible into four classes; merchants, artificers, labourers, and servants. The economic life of the country depends to a large extent on them. They live in the towns, do not bear arms, and are the principal taxpayers. It is from them that the people obtain the necessaries of life, and they form the main link with the outside world. Many of them are wealthy and they exercise a considerable influence in the country, and might well exercise more. The leading merchants to some extent govern the affairs of their towns, and have developed more than a germ of municipal organization. There are also signs of a kind of trades unionism, or rather of the mediaeval guild system, among the various artificers, and professions are usually, though not exclusively, hereditary.

Slaves.

The Qu'aiti and Kathīri Governments are the biggest slave-holders in the country, and I should imagine that there is comparatively little private ownership. Apart from the fact that the slaves are slaves, there is very little to distinguish them, except their African countenances, from other classes of the country, and

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

Subians.

The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population. Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*", a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

Immigration.

Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies, which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Bedra and Haura.

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for 728 several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, 669 the strongest influence for peace in Kathiri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an 185 era of peace in Kathiri land, and the time seems to be propitious 565 for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathiri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

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year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathîri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive resilence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathîri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

QU'AITI-KATHÎRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathîri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathîri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realises no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathîris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim.

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a [illegible] business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis.

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr.

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr.

631 The Kathīri claims the Hamumi, Nahd, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar tribes as his allies. The agreement with the Nahd, which is said to be similar to those with the Hamumi, 'Awābitha and Sei'ar, is included in an appendix. It is stated that these tribes would join the Kathīris if there was trouble with the Qu'aitis.

Kathiri Towns.

101 The country ruled by the Kathīris was formerly of vast extent and stretched from the 'Aulaqi country on the west to the Mahri on the east, including the country of Dhufar beyond. The history of the circumscription of the territory to its present limits appears sufficiently in an earlier chapter of this report.

631 Of the six towns or villages mentioned as being included in the
632 Kathīri dominions Seiyun and Tarim are the largest. Seiyun, the
361 capital of the Āl 'Abdulla Sultans, is a walled town of over 1,500 houses and about 50 mosques. The suburbs, which are all to the east of the town, are extending fairly rapidly with the building of pleasant looking residencies, most of them with their own gardens. The population is said to be about 20,000. Tarim is also a growing town with an estimated population of 15,000. Its walls, which are over five miles in length and are furnished with five gates and 25 forts, enclose a great deal of open space so that most of the better class houses have their own gardens. There are over 2,000 houses, and there are said to be 300 mosques, one of which, built by the Al Kafs, has the highest minaret in the Hadhramaut and is of an unusual pattern. The principal shrine in Tarim is that of Maqaddam Faqih. There are growing suburbs outside the walls such as 'Aidīd, but some of the suburbs such as Thibi, Dammūn, and Beit Jabīr, belong to the Tamimis and are under Qu'aiti influence. Tarim and Seiyun are striking for their many
342 palaces, equipped in modern style, to which reference has already
365 been made. These houses have a water supply laid on and pumped
312 up by small petrol engines. The towns are well supplied with wells, and Tarim is remarkable for being the only town in the Hadhramaut with public conveniences, which, however, are rough mud erections and very insanitary.

361 Taris is a village lying to the west of Seiyun, and its inhabitants
529 do not exceed 700. Mariama is a small village to the east of Seiyun with a population of about 300. Al Ghurf, also a small village, lies to the north of Tarim and has a population not exceeding 250. Gheil bin Yomein is said to be a popular place of resort during the autumn. It is a small village of which the majority of the inhabitants are Beduins.

565 A great deal of wealth comes into the Kathīri towns from the East Indies, and the towns of Tarim and Seiyun, which are considered centres of culture and learning, include many wealthy inhabitants whose fortunes have been made in the East Indies.

000 The whole of the Kathīri part of the wadi is accessible by motor

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £200,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

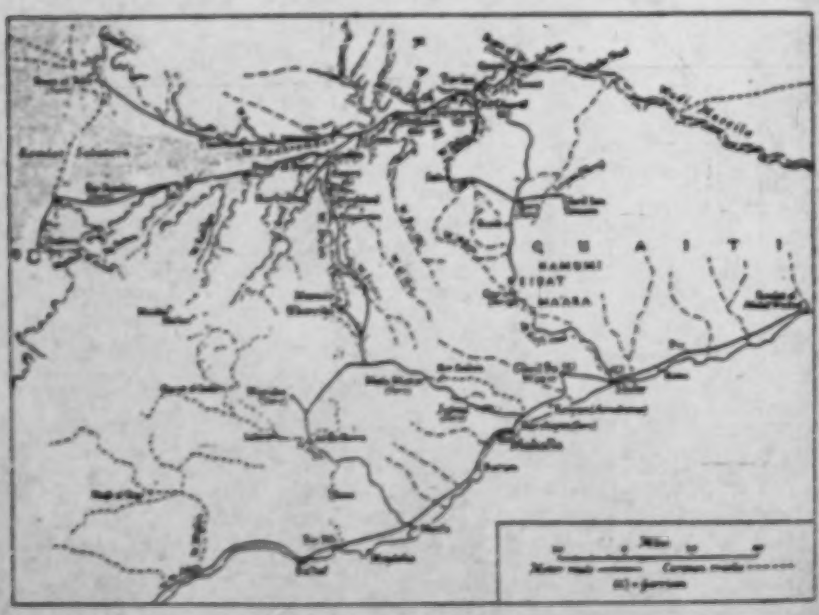
Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

serfs whose economic condition is so oppressive that they have almost fallen to the level of the beasts whose labours they share on their wells. The seiyids dominate the life and thought of the country and, though some of them, those with whom the Westerner comes into contact, have furnished their houses with most of the comforts, many of the luxuries and still more of the barbarities of the West, Western influence ceases at that point and they have been described as "members of the most fanatical sect in Arabia." There are over 20,000 of them in the country and with their families they probably represent about a fifth of the population. The Hadhramaut is also a particular and holy land for it contains the tomb of the prophet Hud and a whole host of minor prophets and saints.



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The country contains the most extraordinary contrasts. Civilization ranges from extremes of luxury and comfort to utter squalor, from considerable culture to complete savagery. The poor town classes usually have enough to eat but no margin, the bedouins live on the verge of starvation. You find the highest standard of morality among the bedouin, but in the towns and especially on the coast vice is all too common: theft, however, is surprisingly rare. Formal religious observance among the settled people is widespread but there are few "good" men. Those there are stand out like beacons. Among the bedouin there is less formal observance (some tribes scarcely pray or fast) but a higher standard of honour

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM Hadhramaut MM2

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut.

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba.

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes.

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau.

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another.

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable.

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each.

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class. The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

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do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

5 Hamilton G-S (no date) 1943 MHC Hadhramaut H M 2i

remained unchanged through centuries of the past and which was perhaps well suited to periods long ago, somehow or other have to adapt themselves to modern conditions.

That is the problem which Political Officers in a country like the Aden Protectorate have to face: that is to say, they have to give the best that we can offer to the people without doing at the same time harm, which so obviously might accompany our action if we were to press our own ideas too much on a social system so different from our own. That makes it all the more important—in fact, it is essential—that British Officers, Political Officers working in that country, should really understand the people as Mr. Hamilton understands them; that they should study them and specialize in their task, for otherwise it is only too easy to fall into serious errors and mistakes.

The question which remains to be answered is to what extent communities like these tribes can absorb or adapt themselves to these changes and to the conditions which they have to meet. As you know from what Mr. Hamilton has said, the units are very small. In some cases, such as Lahej and Mukalla, we have something approximating to what we regard as a regular government. But in some tribal areas the authority of the sheikh is very small; in fact, in some cases I think Mr. Hamilton would agree that it is practically non-existent. The tribal chief often has little real authority. He is merely one of the family, one of the tribe. The extent to which he can carry his authority depends largely on his personality.

We have also heard how the tribesmen, the landowning tribesmen, who regard themselves as the aristocracy of the country, are not a minority but a majority of the people. I once was talking to an Arab from the Protectorate, and I asked him: "What exactly is the difference between a tribesman and a subject?" He replied very briefly: "Well, a subject has to do what he is told, and a tribesman need not." If the tribesmen are in a majority, that makes it very difficult. I said to him: "What about your own tribe? Have you many subjects there or not?" He replied: "As a matter of fact, in my own particular tribe we have no subjects; we are all tribesmen, and that is what causes all the trouble."

If we want to help these people in matters like assisting them to develop their agriculture, to develop their resources in water (which is a necessary concomitant of any agricultural development), to give them help in medical matters (of which they are badly in need, for there is no such thing as even an approach to a medical service in any part of the Protectorate), to help them in education—I mean an education suitable to them—the first and foremost foundation must be some form of internal security. With so many of these small tribal communities immersed in old vendettas and blood feuds the security in the country is in some parts very slight. You cannot build up anything on a basis of anarchy and disorder, and the question arises whether these small tribal units are capable of establishing enough authority and of getting rid of anarchical conditions sufficiently to meet the needs of the time.

Our neighbour there, the Imam of the Yemen, maintains that many of these tribes are too small to enjoy any forms of independence. He says, in fact, that they ought to belong to him, and he would understand how

61 Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MMS Hadhramaut MMS

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 672 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood feud, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost. 342 531

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby. 341 531 177

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away. 342 353 177

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms. 361 565

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely. 565 292 561

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one 665 342

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665 342 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen, store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and washrooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 353 565 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

[291 515]

342 515 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 271 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

600 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall.

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts.

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra.

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1946) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The Wahidi Sultanate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

thought that we had some slight chance of succeeding, and they gave us loyal cooperation.

Thus we landed at Makalla on Sunday, May 3, accompanied only by my Yemenite servant. The Sultan was away as usual, and his vizier read the letters of introduction from our minister of foreign affairs and from the Governor of Aden. We were very well accommodated in one of the Sultan's former palaces, and then began the task of waiting for the great decision as to whether we might enter the country. The same evening we had the good fortune to meet a member of the family al-'Attās, which is very friendly with the government of the Dutch Indies. He had received a telegram from his father instructing him to give all possible help to the Dutch representative of the government in his anticipated journey in Hadramaut. The Sayyid family of al-'Attās, together with the closely allied family of al-Kāf, belongs to the leading group in Hadramaut proper. Two great parties, which are hostile to one another, are contesting for the power in this country, namely, the āl-Qa'ētī, who have their headquarters at Makalla, and the āl-Kathīr, with headquarters at Sēwun. The āl-Qa'ētī sultans take their cue from the English, and, thanks to English help, have authority in the coast region. The āl-Kathīr are more independent, and reside in Hadramaut proper, that is, in the broad valley in the interior which has that name. The Sayyids boast of being directly descended from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in Hadramaut society hold a distinct and very privileged position. They have great influence with the government, but leave the actual business for the most part to the non-sayyids. The immediate and whole-hearted support of the al-'Attās certainly did our enterprise a great deal of good, for on the following day we received the promise that we might go inland. However, the great difficulties of the journey, especially at this time of the year (one of the hottest months), were expressly pointed out to us; and we were urgently dissuaded from crossing the

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MMS Hadhramaut MMS

known as al-Saḥil, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Ruḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Saniyah[6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjir who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḥallf who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥil quarter.

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●565
463 Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls[7] and the carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials*, *op. cit.*, p. 296. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرق which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Miskīn class.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-8 (191)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR

645 We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with [643] the Vizier, who, in the absence o the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Nasrdnis*, the *Efrendjis*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-645 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popu-565 larity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as 175 sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abi Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey 567 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dôᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
468 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
●565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādīᶜ Amd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) binᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

fluential, privileged position, though abroad this position is constantly attacked, and with increasing violence. Western colonial governments make no distinction between the *sāda* (plural of *sayyid*) and those who are not descended from the Prophet, but here this kind of democracy is neither understood nor respected by the *sāda*. It was the only objection that I heard raised against the Netherlands' Colonial Government.

In their own land they are the maintainers of religion, and in no other Muḥammadan country are there so many and such beautiful mosques. Also I have seldom seen the *ṣalāt* performed with so much devotion as among the *sāda* in Ḥaḍramaut. Their influence on the government of their land is great: the Sultans are financially dependent on them, the Bedouin tribes are governed by them both by means of money and by religious influence. If they were not so hopelessly disunited among themselves, the political conditions in the "country of the *sāda*" would be much better. It will be seen from what follows how distressingly bad these are at the present time.

The place of honour is given to the sayyid in daily life; he takes the lead during the performance of the *ṣalāt* and sees that it is duly carried out. He is greeted with a respectful kiss on the hand, a salute which even the Sultan does not evade, at least in appearance; the sayyid shows his appreciation of this by drawing back his hand and making as if he will kiss that of the Sultan. This game of make-believe is carried on for quite a little time, for people in Ḥaḍramaut have plenty of time to spare and cling with great respect to the decorum of life. For the non-sayyid of distinction it also suffices if he makes a pretence of kissing the hand.

In Ḥurēḍa all worldly authority is subordinate to that of the sayyids. The Governor is a poor young man who is completely dependent, financially, on the el-ʿAṭṭās family. The schools, mosques, wells and other objects of public utility are maintained by the sayyids.

Water-supply for Ḥurēḍa is a matter of difficulty. We saw great wells lined with masonry, which are about 55 *qāma* deep

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M042 Hadhramaut M042

The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M42 Hadhramaut M42

fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut themselves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF ḤAḌRAMAUT.

In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

24-Muslim and Wissmann 7-8 (ZDMG)92 MAI Hadhramaut MAI

has made his fortune abroad has built here a princely house for himself. He has, of course, not forgotten to render thanks to Allah at the same time by building a mosque, a glittering white masterpiece of Ḥaḍrami architecture. The contrast between the great wealth of many sayyids and the poverty of the great mass of the people does not seem to be poignantly felt here. The palaces of the rich stand right in the midst of dying towns; their children, frequently overdressed, play with the almost naked black children of slaves. The rich return of their own accord from lands of culture and prosperity to their own land of appalling poverty, to enjoy within its borders the wealth they have accumulated. Allah has willed that there be rich men in the world and poor men to whom they should be able to give alms. It is fit and proper that there should be beggars in every good Muslim society and especially a plentiful supply of them in places of pilgrimage, so that the pious may have ample opportunity to practise the generosity commanded by Allah. We have noticed little jealousy or class conflict in Ḥaḍramaut. This is certainly due partly to the democratic way of living. The privileges of the sayyid class have a religious and not a money basis. Soldiers, household slaves and the free citizens of the village meet in the *madjlis* of the rich and all eat there in company, drink from the same bowl and join in the same converse.

From Qasam we go by car along the high clay bank of the *maulia* (the bed of the wādī), which has been eroded by the *saqra*. Having reached a point opposite ʿEnāt we attempt to cross the wide sandy bed of the *maulia* to reach the town. The palm plantations have been growing progressively thinner and the soil here is entirely covered by a layer of sand. We stall constantly in this sand in the *maulia* and have difficulty in reaching ʿEnāt, where everything speaks of vanished glory. The town is scattered over a wide area; great open spaces give one the impression that the population was formerly much larger than it is now. At one time many pilgrims were attracted here by the seven *qubbas* which adorn

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 M42 Hadhramaut M42

CHAPTER XIII.

OUR LAST DAYS IN TERÎM.

On our return to Terim we were met with a storm of questions and had to give a detailed account of our experiences in Bîr Barhût. They were all very much surprised to hear that it really is *not* a crater. In reply to the question what it actually is we answer that it is one of the many caves which Allâh is wont to create in mountains of limestone formation. Sayyid ʿAlī el-ʿAṭṭâs gives to an attentive audience a dramatic account of what he saw and heard and experienced in the cave into which no man before him had ventured.

The following day, June 5th, was a Friday. In the morning of that day the learned men and notables of the place meet in the el-Kâf house. This time the meeting was very animated; many questions were put about the ruins and about Bîr Barhût, and interesting views expressed on the subject. A brother of Muḥammad bin ʿAqîl, the Ḥaḍramî traveller, told of the remains of the supposed great dam of the Ḥimyarites, which were investigated and described by his brother. He estimates that 600 years have elapsed since the destruction of the dam, which must have been accomplished not by floods but by the hand of man. The dam must have been made entirely of mud, as no fragments of stones remain. According to other informants, many well-hewn, massive stones are to be met with down-stream from the dam. Muḥammad bin ʿAqîl in his paper says that the dam could easily be reconstructed, as it has a very favourable position. The side-wâdî *a* was filled by the damming-up of the water; *a* is connected with side-wâdî *b*, as an existing, low sill of stone forms no real hindrance. So the surplus water found an outlet through these side-wâdîs. Thus too heavy pressure was never exercised

Y 241 318 379 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 342 136 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite is built on the very top of a 3000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 621 622 The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidat*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In

H 622 0565 671 the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by

H 622 632 671 custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H [651 623] 701 In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary *'askari*, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[See category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21

The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
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form, geographically and socially, a remarkably homogeneous whole. It may be said, in brief, that the districts of the Hadhramaut are singularly fertile and self-sufficing, and so situated geographically as to hang closely together and to be isolated socially, as a whole, from the rest of Arabia; while, at the same time, they lie within reach of ports which are in constant communication with mid-eastern Africa and India. To the north stretches unbroken the most terrible waste of sand-dunes in the peninsula; to the east the district is practically isolated from the Oman provinces by the almost waterless desert of Mahrah; while to the west it is difficult of access from the Yemen and its outlying provinces on account of a mountainous and sterile desert-steppe which, up to the present, remains almost entirely unexplored.

Possessing more frequent and easy communication with Moslem communities outside Arabia than within it, the population of the Hadhramaut has had ample opportunity to develop particularism in its social organization as well as in its religious spirit. The fertility of its lands makes its farmers self-sufficient and jealous with the jealousy of men who have much to lose; and, while their relations with Africa have given them unusual wealth of slaves, their relations with India and other parts of the East, greatly enhancing their material civilization, have at the same time made them fully aware of the nature of European rule and the danger of giving free entrance to members of a race which condemns slavery. For long they succeeded in barring the way to the encroachments of all foreigners, and it is only within comparatively recent times that travellers, few in number, have succeeded in acquiring information, and that only to a very limited extent, about the social organization, customs, and manners of this interesting and highly exclusive people.

The population may be divided into four more or less distinct classes:

1. The Seyyids.
2. The Tribesmen.
3. The Townsmen.
4. The Servile classes, or slaves.

The *Seyyids*, descendants of Husein, grandson of Mohammed, form a numerous and highly respected aristocracy. They are divided into families, the heads of which are known as 'Munsibs', who are looked upon as the religious leaders of the people and are in some cases venerated as saints. They do not bear arms, nor occupy themselves in trade or manual labour, or even agriculture;

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though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of

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the interior Hadhramaut towns; and all the houses are gathered within the walls, since there is no security outside on account of the neighbourhood of the Kathīri.

(*b*) The principal towns of the Kathīri are the following:

5. **Seyyūn,** built on the slopes of Jebel Seyyūn, at the edge of a very extensive and fertile area, which stretches away to the lower ground of the wādi and is dominated by the castle of the ruling Sultan. The town is surrounded by walls of mud, embracing, within the enceinte, a great number of gardens; it is entered by a low gateway. The streets are broader and cleaner than most of the Hadhramaut towns; and the place has some pretensions to a drainage system, many of the houses having outlets for this purpose to walled pits.

Seyyūn is a town of many mosques, their number being reputed to exceed 300: the principal one, the Grand Mosque, stands on one side of the great square. The town is the intellectual centre of the Hadhramaut, the so-called Academy (*Ribāt*), an annexe of the grand mosque, being the place of assemblage of a great number of reputed savants. The market is said to be the busiest in the whole country, and is held in the square on Fridays at the termination of noon-day prayers, merchants coming to it from all parts. Hirsch, however, states that, when he was there (1893), 'there seemed to be but little trade carried on, and there were only a few stalls in the market'. The population is estimated at about 4,500.

The Seyyids of Seyyūn are very powerful and wealthy, and many of them have large castle-like houses. The palace of the ruling head of the Kathīri stands on an elevated site, and is surrounded by its own wall fortified with bastions and outstanding watch-towers. The main block of the palace is surmounted by three very conspicuous look-outs, the middle one being higher than the other two. The chief is reputed to have two or three field-pieces and some old cannon in his possession.

6. **Terīm,** some 19 miles NE. of Seyyūn, is a considerable and straggling town built along a mountain slope above a broad belt of cultivation and palm-groves which stretches away towards the east. Its population, according to Hirsch (probably the only European who has succeeded in visiting it, but who, owing to the hostility of the Seyyids, was obliged to return precipitately before he had very thoroughly explored it), was about 4,000 in 1893, and was declining. A low gate, with a large ruined fortress close by, gives entrance to the town on the Shibām side, and just within this is the main square, where the market is held: one side of the square is occupied by the principal mosque. It does not appear, however,

in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[20] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the religious leaders. A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

Vital Statistics

Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 511 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per